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AUTHOR Rice, R. Eugene
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ABSTRACT

This essay, the first in a series about the priorities of the professoriate, offers a vision of the new American scholar. The first part of the essay examines the numerous activities that surround faculty work and how they relate, in a changing external environment, to the role of the scholar. The stage is set by defining how higher education relates to the larger purposes of American society and by noting the assumptions and consensus within which academic professionals have traditionally operated. The essay then examines how the contexts of faculty work are being transformed in the 1990s by financial constraints, the technological environment, and basic assumptions about work itself. The second part of the essay deals with how these changes affect and necessitate rethinking faculty careers. It discusses changes in the academic workplace, the shifting concept of scholarship, the interdependence of teaching and research, the relationship between personal and professional needs, interactive approaches to learning, working within a collaborative organization, the career implications of crossing knowledge domains and moving in and out of the academy, and tenure and alternative employment arrangements. (Contains 23 references.) (CH)

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Making a Place for the New American Scholar

By R. Eugene Rice

Scholar-in-Residence and Director,
AAHE Forum on Faculty Roles & Rewards

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NEW PATHWAYS: FACULTY CAREERS AND EMPLOYMENT FOR THE 21ST CENTURY
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About the author

R. Eugene Rice is scholar-in-residence and director of the Forum on Faculty Roles & Rewards at the American Association for Higher Education, Washington, DC. Until recently, he was vice president and dean of the faculty at Antioch College, where he continues to hold an appointment as professor of sociology and religion. He moved to Antioch from the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (Princeton), where he was senior fellow engaged in the national study of the scholarly work of faculty. His teaching and research focus on the sociology and ethics of the professions and the workplace.

About the New Pathways Working Paper Series

AAHE Forum on Faculty Roles & Rewards is a special program of the American Association for Higher Education. It works with faculty leaders, senior academic administrators, trustees, legislators, and others interested in refocusing faculty priorities to address pressing institutional and societal needs.

To advance this agenda, AAHE initiated a project called "New Pathways: Faculty Careers and Employment for the 21st Century." The New Pathways Working Paper Series addresses key issues related to changing faculty careers and employment arrangements.

The American Association for Higher Education (AAHE) is a national organization of individual members who come together -- across hierarchies, sectors, and disciplines -- in the common cause of improving the quality of higher education.

Correction Notice:

On page 8, paragraph two, beginning with "The other institutions....," is incorrect. Please "X-out" that paragraph in your copy of *Tenure Snapshot*.

Hardin-Simmons University *does have* a tenure system. In addition to tenure, Hardin-Simmons is currently "experimenting" with the various types of periodic contracts listed on page 8. Each type of term appointment was tailored for an individual circumstance; the use of such appointments has not been widespread there.

Any opinions expressed in this Inquiry are those of its author(s) and do not necessarily represent those of AAHE's members, nor does its publication necessarily imply their endorsement by the Association.

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Design by Kerrie Kemperman

FOREWORD

In 1992, AAHE entered into the growing national debate about the priorities of the professoriate by establishing the Forum on Faculty Roles & Rewards -- a program that sponsors an annual national conference, issues publications, and serves as a general clearinghouse. Thus, when tenure surfaced in the spring of 1994 as a major issue of conversation and media attention, we became an interested party in the discussion.

On reflection, we decided that what was needed was not another familiar debate about the pros and cons of tenure but a new dialogue -- a dialogue in which tenure was placed in a larger context of fresh thinking about two questions: What career paths make sense for the professoriate of the 21st century? What varieties of employment arrangements might most appropriately undergird these paths?

We also concluded that what might best help campuses work through these questions was not more philosophical argument but concrete options: practical ideas about new career paths and imaginative employment arrangements that campuses could try on for size.

AAHE's New Pathways project seeks to carry out that agenda. Project activities include (1) sponsoring forums to advance the dialogue; (2) serving as a general clearinghouse; and (3) initiating investigations into selected, particular issues.

Central direction for the project is provided by a three-person team: R. Eugene Rice, director of AAHE's Forum on Faculty Roles & Rewards; Richard Chait, professor and director of the Center for Higher Education Governance and Leadership, University of Maryland; and Judith Gappa, professor and vice president for human relations at Purdue University. Richard Chait's part of the project, which focuses on creative employment arrangements, is supported by a generous grant from the Pew Charitable Trusts.

The project team in turn benefits from the wise counsel of a four-person national advisory panel: Richard Lyman, president emeritus, Stanford University (chair); Andrew Hurwitz, attorney; Ejner Jensen, professor of English and special counsel to the president, University of Michigan; and Linda Wilson, president, Radcliffe College.

We wanted to make our own investigations quickly available in a form that was affordable, easily duplicated, and suggestive of what they really are: works in progress, intended to stimulate and enrich further discussion.

Russell Edgerton

President, American Association for Higher Education

Making a Place for the New American Scholar

by R. Eugene Rice

The words "Slow Learners" blaze across a recent cover of *Barron's*, accompanied by a caricature of an obviously indulgent professor. The lead article is a stinging attack on American higher education, warning that the financial restructuring that has hit industry, medicine, and, recently, government is headed now for colleges and universities, and concludes by focusing on faculty -- productivity, tenure, and the preoccupation with research and publication (November 27, 1995).

Of the current issues in American higher education, none generates greater public concern than the mismatch between faculty priorities and the fundamental purposes of our institutions. Much of the campus debate and the vigorous activity surrounding faculty responsibilities and rewards are externally driven. They are responses to the calls for accountability from legislators and trustees, new developments in information technology, and the very real financial constraints and demographic shifts confronting our institutions. And respond we must.

Embedded in the plethora of activities surrounding faculty work, however, is more than a reactive, piecemeal response to changing external environments. A richly textured vision of the role of the scholar and the academy in a democratic America is emerging. It is a challenging vision that is rooted in firmly held educational commitments reaching far back into the last century, building on significant recent developments, and promising to provide a coherent, energizing conception of the work of faculty as we move into the new millennium.

The purpose of this essay is, first, to articulate the several facets of this emerging vision and, second, to contribute to a developing conversation about the kinds of institutional changes that are going to be necessary to give this growing conception organizational breathing space, enough to allow

it to take root and flourish. This will involve exploring ways of putting into place a multidimensional academic career that will be more resilient and self-renewing for faculty, while also enabling our colleges and universities to meet the changing educational needs of our students and the knowledge requirements of a society committed to being democratic.

In a current AAHE inquiry aimed at "Heeding New Voices," structured interviews are being conducted around the country with recently appointed faculty. What we are finding is that faculty are caught between the times. They are held to one set of performance criteria coming out of an earlier era and reinforced at every turn by their graduate school experience. At the same time, faculty are expected to respond to the imperatives of a vigorous change agenda aimed at improving the quality of undergraduate learning, serving the larger community, and restructuring the institution to meet rapidly shifting needs.

Faculty are feeling "under siege." In an environment in which they are being roundly criticized for not working hard enough and faculty workload studies are proliferating, their largest complaint is a lack of time. What is needed is a broader, more coherent conception of the scholarly work of faculty -- what I am calling, a bit audaciously, "the new American scholar." It is a vision in the making, and the subject of Part I, history and all; about this I am hopeful. I am less sanguine about our being able to create a place that will support and nurture this new work -- more flexible, responsive, multidimensional ways of organizing what faculty do -- and career paths that will sustain it; that is Part II.

PART I

THE NEW AMERICAN SCHOLAR: A VISION TO BE REALIZED

The recent struggle to rethink the role of faculty in our institutions and in a dramatically changing societal context brings immediately to mind Ralph Waldo Emerson's famous address of 1837, "The American Scholar." Using the images and issues of that time and place, Emerson articulated a vision of the scholar in a new democracy, a vision that resonated across early nineteenth century America. Oliver Wendell Holmes came to regard it as "our intellectual Declaration of Independence."

Emerson's address was not so much an assertion of intellectual nationalism as a statement of his own struggle with the problem of vocation, with the nature and meaning of scholarly work in a changing society. It was a strident statement, calling for the rejection of a past that was alien and debilitating and for the affirmation of a new approach to scholarship and a new role for the scholar in society -- a role that would be vital and self-confident, or, in his words, "blood warm." It was a call for an understanding of the work of the scholar that would be distinctly American, growing out of, and speaking to, the realities of a vibrant, emerging democracy.

What does it mean to be a distinctly American scholar? What is the role of the scholar in a dynamic, changing democracy? These are questions raised by Emerson to which this society never fully responded. Instead, the national conversation shifted to what was distinctly American about the nation's colleges, and, later, its universities.

In 1963, one hundred and twenty-six years later -- scarcely a block from where Emerson spoke -- Clark Kerr used the invitation to deliver Harvard's Godkin Lectures to reflect on what it meant to be an American university: "The university is being called upon to educate previously unimagined numbers of students; to respond to the expanding claims of national service; to merge its activities with industry as never before; to adapt to and rechannel new intellectual currents." Kerr then predicted that only when this transformation had taken place would we have "a truly American university, an institution unique in world history, an institution not looking to other models but serving, itself, as a model for universities in other parts of the globe." Most notable, Kerr's "truly American university" was envisioned to serve first and foremost the common good, the larger purposes of a changing, diverse, democratic America (1972, p. 86).

American higher education now stands at a crossroad. On the one hand, this great mosaic of institutions is on the threshold of becoming the "truly American university" Kerr predicted. Over the past thirty-plus years, colleges and universities in this country have taken on the tremendous challenges Kerr identified, and much has been accomplished. The growth and diversity -- of programs, at least -- are obviously there. Other nations -- Asian, European, African -- are looking our way for a model, a decentralized but coherent one, struggling to meet diverse societal needs and

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attempting to respond to the call for both access and excellence.

On the other hand, more than thirty years later, despite the remarkable achievements, there is the widely held perception of a serious disconnection between higher education and the larger purposes of American society. The college and university are seen as the place where talented men and women -- students, faculty, and administrators -- contend for competitive advantage. Higher education is regarded by all too many as a private benefit, not a public good. Viewed in that light, the kinds of solid financial support higher education has enjoyed over the past half century, and when we turn to faculty, the prestige of the professoriate evident earlier, academic freedom, and especially tenure make less and less sense to the general public.

Higher Education and the Larger Purposes of American Society

The quest for a "truly American university" has a long history, running in depth back to the opening years of the last century. At that time, the colonial colleges, fashioned in the images of Oxford and Cambridge, had already been transformed into institutions unique to this country. The historian Frederick Rudolph described the American college as one that "could establish itself as a popular institution intimately affecting the lives of people" (p. 58). The colleges were committed not only to the development of character but to the building of community; they were envisioned as a social investment.

It was with the introduction of the land-grant college that the uniquely American character of institutions of higher education was to take a giant step forward. Not only was the college responsible for the shaping of the character and the quality of the mind, and thus preparing new generations for democratic leadership and participation; but, added to that, the college became an instrument of direct service to the nation.

This is a familiar story. The land-grant colleges were established by an Act of Congress in 1862 primarily for the purpose of applying knowledge to the enormous agricultural and technical problems confronting society. Their utilitarian mission matched the mood and needs of an emerging nation. That the pursuit of knowledge could play a pivotal role in the development of the nation became a central theme of America as it moved into the twentieth century.

Private universities as well as public, urban as well as rural, took up the challenge of reaching out to an emerging nation and applying what was being learned on campus to the evolving problems of a society in change. Applied research, technical assistance, and extension services expanded; public

service was seen as a central contribution of American higher education. By 1908, Harvard's President Eliot could claim:

At bottom most of the American institutions of higher education are filled with the modern democratic spirit of serviceableness. Teachers and students alike are profoundly moved by the desire to serve the democratic community.... All the colleges boast of the serviceable men they have trained, and regard the serviceable patriot as their ideal product. This is a thoroughly democratic conception of their function (in Veysey 1965, p. 227-228).

The tensions that faculty are experiencing now -- being caught between the times -- were foreshadowed in developments during those turbulent and yeasty years around the turn of the century when we saw the emergence of the new American university. The vision of engagement that marked the land-grant college tradition was not only very much alive but thriving. In his 1903 book, *The Voice of the Scholar*, David Starr Jordan, president of Stanford, argued that there should be no separation between the scholar and the person; knowledge was to be judged by its "ability to harmonize the focus of life." He contended that the entire university movement "is toward reality and practicality" (in Veysey 1965, p.61). Jordan's view of the work of the scholar echoed across America during the Progressive Era, but found greatest resonance in the Midwest, and particularly in Wisconsin.

The journalist Lincoln Steffens gave national visibility to "The Wisconsin Idea" with his widely read 1909 article entitled "Sending a State to College." The University of Wisconsin at Madison, Steffens said, offered "to teach anybody -- anything -- anywhere" (in Stone and DeNevi 1971, p. 133). Scholars, particularly in the new social sciences, flocked to Wisconsin confident that they had both the expertise and the moral obligation to make a difference in society through their scholarly work. Public service was not only regarded as legitimate faculty work, but privileged. The public intellectual was very much alive and well.

Much has been made of the influence of the German research model in shaping the faculty priorities in the new American university that emerged in the later years of the nineteenth century. When young American scholars returned from their studies in the influential seats of learning at Göttingen and Heidelberg they brought with them a powerful vision of scholarship as specialized research. In Germany, science was a primary activity of the university rather than of autonomous

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academies, technical institutes, museums, or state agencies, as had been the earlier American practice.

To men like Daniel Coit Gilman, who became president first of Berkeley and then of Johns Hopkins, this new approach to scholarly work, giving priority to knowledge attained through the objective application of reason to evidence gained through research and experimentation, called for a new university. The research mission in American universities has been irrevocably associated with Gilman's leadership and the founding of Johns Hopkins in 1876, an event described by Edward Shils as "perhaps the single most decisive event in the history of learning in the western hemisphere" (p. 86).

As significant as was the rise of the research emphasis, beginning at Johns Hopkins and then, with astounding success, at William Rainey Harper's University of Chicago, the strains in faculty priorities with which we are struggling today had another historical rooting equally as important -- and often neglected. Working in a mutually reinforcing way with the research agenda and originating at approximately the same time was the rise of the professions in American life and the impact of the process of professionalization on faculty work.

The Professionalization of Scholarly Work

William M. Sullivan, in his recent book *Work and Integrity: The Crisis and Promise of Professionalism in America*, reminds us of how important being professional is to middle-class Americans. As he points out: "In no modern society has professionalism loomed larger as a social ethos than in the United States" (1995, p. xvii). Being professional gives one a sense of identity and place in a fluid society. Equally important, it also provides social meaning for work. Sullivan's special contribution is his call for renewing the link between professionalism and the tradition of civic democracy. The implications of this work for the academic professions are particularly important.

It was during the same period in which the new research universities were taking form that the professionalization of work in America began with a vengeance. The historian Burton J. Bledstein traces the interconnection in his important book *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (1976). He contends that the status anxieties and self-doubt engendered by a democratic society -- with little reverence for tradition and no class boundaries we were willing to acknowledge -- created a culture of professionalism. It was the newly formed professional identities that provided middle-class Americans with a basis for authority, opportunities for mobility, and the standards for judging merit and success. The institution providing the organizational context and structure for this important cultural development was higher education and,

particularly, the newly emerging American university, where future generations of faculty would be prepared for academic careers and socialized into their disciplinary professions.

As a part of this critical cultural and structural development, the scholarly work of faculty in America was segmented into professions and disciplines and was institutionalized in newly organized professional associations. The historian Laurence Veysey (1973) contends that "the academic revolution" Jencks and Riesman (1968) described as coming to fruition in the 1960s, in their widely read book by that title, actually took place between 1890 and 1910. During those years, the discipline-based departments became the foundation of scholarly allegiance and political power in academic life. However, it was not until after World War II, during the expansionist years in American higher education, that this two-edged process, the professionalization of scholarship and its institutionalization in higher education, was fully established. By then, the disciplinary career, with its cosmopolitan associational ties and the promise of participation in a community of discourse focused on the frontiers of knowledge in one's field, had become differentiated from the faculty member's institutional career, with its emphasis on the teaching of undergraduates and service to local communities.

A Different Time, Different Conditions

Sometime after the mid-1950s, American higher education moved into a period of heady affluence and incredible growth. For faculty, financial resources and employment opportunities were available as never before. The awarding of early tenure was often a way deans enticed new faculty recruits or retained local stars. The tenure process was seldom the torturous, punishing gantlet junior faculty perceive it to be today.

Most striking was the prestige and status that the academic professional enjoyed. This was consistently demonstrated in the periodic rankings of occupations. For example, between 1953 and 1962, in Gallup polls assessing the suitabilities or attractiveness of nine leading professions, "professor" rose from seventh place to third place, a rank it held until 1973 (Metzger 1975).

During these years of relative affluence and prestige in the eyes of the general public, intellectual and artistic work previously conducted in nonacademic settings was drawn under the extended umbrella of colleges and universities. Prior to this expansionist period, scholars -- particularly those in the humanities and the arts, but even those in such fields as economics and psychology -- carried out their work independent of academic institutions. The new sources of funding, the expansion

of programs, and the rising prestige and influence of the academic scholar made a college or university appointment not only convenient but almost irresistible. Institutional responsibilities such as the teaching of undergraduates and committee work could be tolerated as long as time was made for doing one's own work and support was provided; a Faustian bargain was struck. Within a relatively short period, being a scholar became virtually synonymous with being an academic professional, and a powerful image of what this meant took hold.

The Assumptive World of the Academic Professional

Social psychologists have stressed the importance of what they call the "assumptive world" in efforts to cope with change. In periods of stability, a complex of basic assumptions is established and then, in times of transition, this assumptive world is challenged and fundamentally restructured. At the height of that period of expansion and affluence in American higher education, spanning the years between approximately 1957 and 1974, a consensus emerged regarding what it meant to be an academic professional in the fullest sense.

The constituent parts of this professional consensus existed in nascent form at different times in the history of American higher education, some having roots going back to Germany, certainly, but to Britain and Scotland, as well. It was only in the heady days of what seemed to be limitless growth, support, and societal influence, however, that the different assumptions fused to form a dominant conception. It was a consensus made possible by a particular time and circumstance. The assumptions were these:

1. Research is the central professional endeavor and focus of academic life.
2. Quality in the profession is maintained by peer review and professional autonomy.
3. Knowledge is pursued for its own sake.
4. The pursuit of knowledge is best organized by discipline (i.e., by discipline-based departments).
5. Reputations are established in national and international professional associations.
6. Professional rewards and mobility accrue to those who persistently accentuate their specializations.
7. The distinctive task of the academic professional is the pursuit of cognitive

truth.

This professional vision and the interrelated complex of assumptions on which it was built contributed to major leaps in the advancement of knowledge. The increased specialization, new levels of funding for research, and the rigorous exchange and critique of ideas combined to produce enormous benefits, especially in the sciences.

These several interrelated elements were woven into a consensus that became the assumptive world into which the large number of new doctorates from the rapidly expanding graduate schools were initiated. Between 1960 and 1970 the number of Ph.D.'s granted tripled. What sets this time apart from later years, when doctorates would continue to multiply, was that there were jobs -- academic appointments -- for the increasingly large number of Ph.D. recipients, a market condition that in most fields would soon deteriorate.

It is essential that we remember that the large number of older, senior faculty who now head departments and influence tenure and promotion decisions were in graduate school during those years, and this set of assumptions shaped their socialization into the profession. It is a powerful and enduring professional vision passed down and still very much alive today.

During the same expansionist period, while faculty priorities and rewards were being shaped to move in one direction, institutional developments began to pull in another. An already diverse system of higher education exploded with growth and innovation, changing in size, complexity, and capacity to meet the rich variety of educational needs across the states and regions of the nation.

The mismatch -- the lack of congruence -- between these two dramatic developments in American higher education could be contained as long as budgets were expanding and enrollments increasing. New programs could be added on at the margins of colleges and universities without challenging the assumptive world at the core. Even when budgets were tightening in the 1980s, as Zemsky and Massy (1995) have recently pointed out, the growth was along the perimeters of institutions, such as the research institutes in the research universities and the adult learning programs in the liberal arts colleges.

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Caught Between the Times

As we moved into the 1990s, serious attention began to be paid to the faculty role and to what the faculty were rewarded for doing. The priorities that had been central to the assumptive world of the academic professional began to be not necessarily challenged and rejected but added to. The junior

faculty interviewed for the "Heeding New Voices" inquiry report that, in one sense, it is a new day on campus. Some recount with pleasure that excellence in teaching is not only expected, it is beginning to be recognized and rewarded. But the research and publication agendas retain their dominance. Extensive peer review of one's publications continues to be what is valued most; but, in addition to thorough student evaluation, one's teaching also has to be peer reviewed in multiple ways. While new faculty are, on the local level, being encouraged to engage in the very gratifying work of curriculum development and outreach to the broader community through newly initiated service-learning programs, they are being told that their more cosmopolitan responsibilities to professional associations and their guild colleagues are to be their first priority.

Some of our best new faculty are being attracted to a new set of priorities focused on the essential missions of our institutions. On the other hand, the old priorities -- the assumptive world of the academic professional -- remain intact. To the old, the new has been added, and faculty who will be in place at the opening of a new century have little sense of coherence and direction in their professional lives, particularly when tenure and promotion decisions are being considered.

Over the years, I have been very suspicious of those calling for organizational transformation. They make the argument that "we can't get there from here." Incremental change, particularly when new initiatives are added on to what already exists, only makes matters worse. But when it

comes to the difficult task of realigning faculty priorities with institutional missions and the new agendas and expectations these priorities now fail to address, it is possible that retuning will not be enough; even reform might fall short. I am becoming increasingly persuaded that it is time to take a transformative approach to the way we think about faculty work and the structure of the academic

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career. What is needed are new ideas, fresh conceptions of faculty work, ones that reunite institutional and personal endeavor and bring wholeness to scholarly lives.

The New American Scholar Comes of Age

With the proliferation of faculty responsibilities and a radically changing context in which faculty carry out their work, the time has come for us to follow Emerson's lead and ask the basic question: What does it mean to be a scholar in a changing democracy? It is the kind of question the renegade Columbia sociologist C. Wright Mills was always asking. In his now classic essay "On Intellectual Craftsmanship," he reminds the new student that the most admirable thinkers within the scholarly community are those who "do not split their work from their lives" (1959, p. 195). He argues that the best scholars take both too seriously to allow such disassociation; in fact, each is expected to enrich the other. To be a scholar is to have "the exceptional opportunity of designing a way of living which will encourage the habits of good workmanship." For Mills, "scholarship is a choice of how to live, as well as a choice of a career" (p. 196).

Central to Mills's view of the scholar is a sense of integrity, of wholeness, of connectedness. The same is found in Wayne Booth's (1988) essay on "The Scholar in Society." Providing the centering core for the life of the scholar is what Booth, rhetorician and dean of the college at the University of Chicago, calls the "habits of rationality," and he names them: honesty, courage, persistence, consideration, and humility. It is this focused sense of the responsible self and interconnection that is missing from the professional lives of many faculty members today.

The assumptive world of the academic professional and the reward system that supports it fosters for many a disconnection from one's own institution, community and societal needs, and even from one's own colleagues and students. Some faculty report a disjuncture between who they are and what they do. The vision of the new American scholar that is emerging from a variety of quarters promises to provide a broader and more connected conception.

Pivotal in advancing the reexamination of the faculty role and the reward structure, with special focus on the work of the scholar, was the leadership of the late Ernest Boyer. No one else had the eloquence, persuasiveness, national visibility, and, frankly, the audacity to take on the task of redefining scholarship. *Scholarship Reconsidered: Priorities of the Professoriate* was released at a particularly propitious moment in 1990. Part of Ernie's genius as a national leader was his uncanny sense of timing.

What is particularly refreshing about the Carnegie report is that it called on faculty to move

beyond the tired old "teaching vs. research" debate. It reframes the discussion, placing the emphasis on what faculty do as scholars -- on their knowledge of the field -- as historians, biologists, or economists. What moves to the foreground is the scholarly work of faculty, whether they are engaged in the *advancing* of knowledge in a field, *integrating* knowledge through the structuring of a curriculum, *transforming* knowledge through the challenging intellectual work involved in teaching and facilitating learning, or *applying* knowledge to a compelling problem in the community.

In the keynote address at the 1994 AAHE Conference on Faculty Roles & Rewards, Boyer described how "we are beginning to find a new language, a common language ... that will help revitalize research, give dignity to teaching, and help the academy be more responsive." *Scholarship Reconsidered* obviously struck a cord. The monograph very quickly became the best selling "special report" in the history of the Carnegie Foundation. Colleges and universities across the nation, and across sectors, began to reexamine their tenure and promotion guidelines.

Thanks to the leadership of Robert Diamond and his colleagues at Syracuse, the professional and disciplinary associations also got involved in developing guidelines for evaluating and rewarding a broader conception of the scholarly work of faculty. Several of the disciplines had difficulty with the call to redefine scholarship as such; taking on Webster's seemed a bit much. The arts, especially, struggled with terminology. Nine disciplinary and professional associations finally came to an agreement, however, on the title for the Forum's publication containing their guidelines: *The Disciplines Speak: Rewarding the Scholarly, Professional, and Creative Work of Faculty* (AAHE, 1995).

I was at the Carnegie Foundation working on its report on scholarship while it was being developed. In retrospect, I'm convinced that the major contribution of *Scholarship Reconsidered* was that it provided colleges and universities with an understanding of the scholarly work of faculty that came closer to matching the rich diversity that is the hallmark of American higher education. It introduced and legitimated a way of thinking about faculty work that is more appropriate, more authentic, and more adaptive for both our institutions and the day-to-day working lives of faculty. The original title of the Carnegie report was to have been "The New American Scholar."

Honoring Different Ways of Learning

Another key contribution of *Scholarship Reconsidered* is that it provided a language and a broadened framework that focused the discussion of faculty work on the scholarly -- the serious intellectual and creative contributions of professors -- in a way that cut across a range of professional responsibilities. In so doing, it built upon what is at the heart of the established conception of

scholarship -- learning.

Faculty are encouraged to engage in research and publication under even traditional norms not just because it is hoped that advances in what is known in the field will be made -- this happens now and again, and is of immense value. But the primary aim is to motivate faculty to keep intellectually alive and curious, continually learning. In the work of the new American scholar, learning continues to be the central element, but is related more directly to the diverse scholarly tasks professors are called upon to perform in their institutions and society.

The established view of scholarship has another strength that needs to be built into a new, broader approach. Research is shared and is public. It energizes faculty because it has the potential for being not only extrinsically but intrinsically rewarding. It is grounded in an associational life that opens the possibilities of a community of discourse tied directly to one's own intellectual interest and expertise. It is also a cosmopolitan activity, that is not only public but portable. Achievements are recognized, rewarded by peers, documented, and available to others for evaluation. Before the new American scholar will have fully arrived, other forms of scholarly work -- particularly teaching and service -- are going to have to generate similar sorts of associational ties, the same kind of public visibility and critique, and be recognized as intellectual currency honored across the profession.

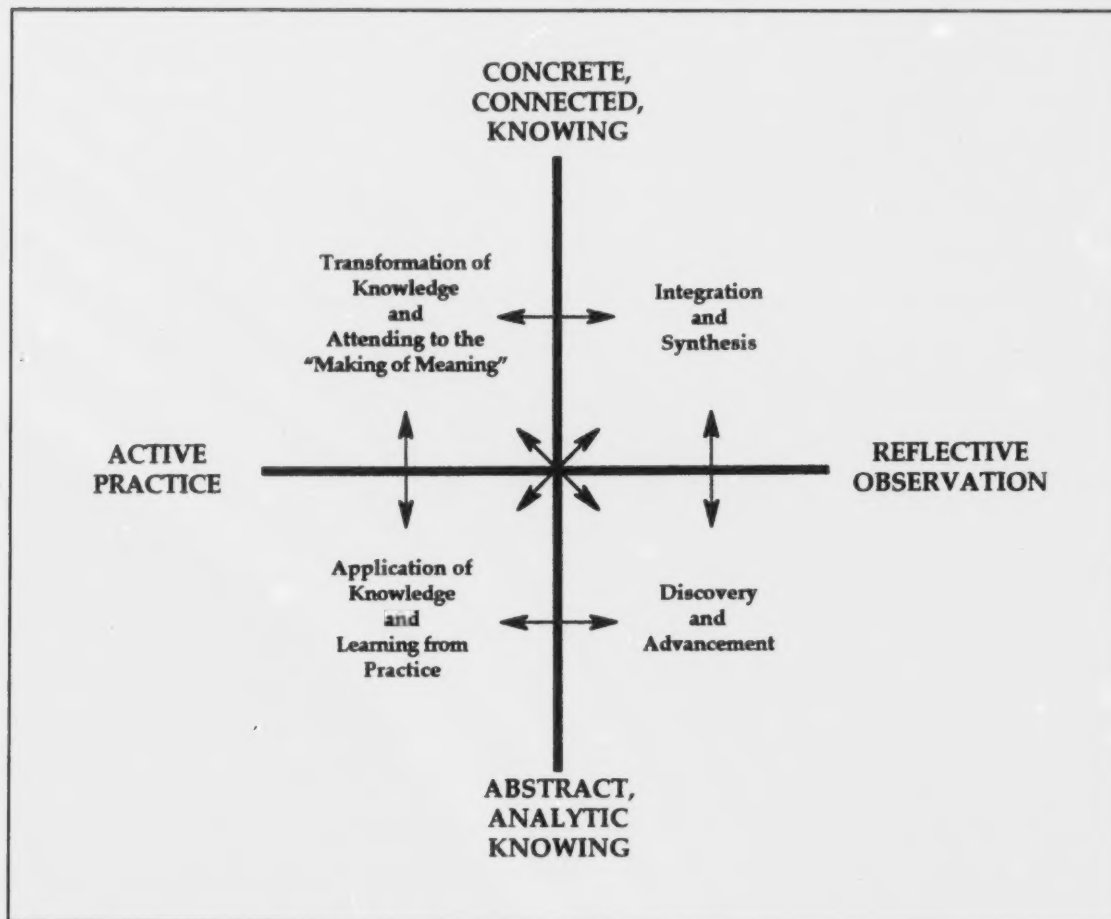
All the work on reconsidering scholarship -- or, as the disciplinary societies prefer, "the professional, scholarly, and creative work of faculty" -- is, in the deepest sense, an epistemological challenge. Serious questions are being raised about what is fundamental to knowing. M.I.T.'s Donald Schön, in an address at the 1995 New England conference on faculty roles and rewards (later published in *Change*), drew on a lifetime of wrestling with what he calls "knowing-in-action" and claimed that if we take seriously the call for a new scholarship we must move to a new epistemology (1995). He argues that the epistemology that is institutionalized in the research university, and consequently dominates most of higher education when it comes to what counts as scholarship, is too narrow to encompass the messier, more contingent kinds of intellectual work faculty confront in the challenges of integration, engaging in professional practice, or teaching.

In raising the epistemological question, Schön stands in a distinguished philosophical tradition

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that is indigenously American. It begins with Emerson, and moves on to John Dewey, Richard Rorty, and Cornel West. It is the tradition that informs the work of those providing the intellectual capital needed to enlarge our view of scholarly work. Lee Shulman is a leader here, along with Elizabeth Minnich, Schön, and others.

Particularly helpful in developing a frame for discussing a broader view of the scholarly work of faculty are the efforts of David Kolb (1984). Kolb focuses on the basic dimensions of learning, how knowledge is perceived and how it is processed. Just as learning can be characterized as a multidimensional process involving different approaches, so an enlarged conception of scholarly work can be depicted as an interrelated whole with distinctive components and approaches to learning. To advance the discussion, the different but interrelated dimension of the work of the new American scholar can be diagrammed as shown below:



Assuming that the four forms of scholarship set forth in *Scholarship Reconsidered* and debated for several years now across American higher education are familiar, let me focus instead on the tensions between the different ways of knowing built into this enlarged view of faculty work. I will also identify some of the insights that have emerged and misunderstandings that have become evident from discussions with a large number of faculty groups across the various sectors of higher education.

The broader conceptions of scholarly work depicted in the diagram challenge the faculty member to acknowledge and grapple with the basic tensions between different approaches to knowing and his or her own development as a scholar. The first tension (vertical in the diagram) deals with how knowledge is perceived. At one pole of the tension is the abstract, analytical approach to the acquisition of knowledge usually associated with scientific research. Objectivity is highly privileged, as is accuracy of impression. Advanced levels of specialization are usually required to be on the cutting edge of a field. Distance lends perspective, and values distort. "Hard" quantitative evidence is what counts. Varying levels of experimental rigor yield hierarchies of inquiry and evidence.

At the other end of the first continuum is an orientation that begins with concrete experience and what is learned from contexts and relationships, valuing communities. This is a very different approach to learning, one that builds on connection and relationships, where values reveal rather than mask what is worth knowing. This way of learning is driven both by new forms of inquiry on the part of scholars, and by an orientation to learning that is brought to the academy by the growing number of nontraditional students, particularly the influx of older students, women, and members of various minority groups.

Rather than passively accept the abstract, objective, analytical approach to learning that is prevalent in the more didactic classroom, these new students began to press for connection, attend to context, and call for the recognition of the relational character of knowing. Responsive teachers began to experiment with more collaborative approaches to learning, and older arguments for experiential learning were refurbished. To recognize the legitimacy of a more concrete, connected way of knowing calls for a multidimensional pedagogy, where the lived experiences of students are honored and peer collaboration in learning has a central place.

Cornel West (1989) helps us understand the contextual character of knowledge and the role of discourse in illuminating it:

Evolving description and ever-changing versions of objects, things, and the world issue forth from various communities as responses to certain problems, as attempts to overcome specific situations, and as means to satisfy particular needs and interests....

To put it crudely, ideas, words, and language are not mirrors which copy the "real" or "objective" world but rather tools with which we cope with "our" world (p. 201).

Ethnic studies and women's studies, in their struggle for legitimacy, have helped us recognize the power of context, relationships, and community in our approach to learning. Certainly, knowledge comprehended through objective reasoning and analytic theory-building must be acknowledged and honored, but knowledge apprehended through connections grounded in human community and lively discourse -- relational knowing -- must also be seen as legitimate.

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A broader view of scholarly work will open faculty to seeing the different approaches to knowing as ones that ought to be publicly discussed and debated in thoughtful ways, and not as a zero-sum game where one approach wins and the others lose. In the present climate we have little more than what Sheldon Hackney has called "drive-by debate," with connected knowing being disparaged as "politically correct" and the more traditional approach to knowing characterized negatively as a "bloodless" epistemology. We are beginning to develop a diversity of perspectives, but do not have the quality of community that allows us, and particularly our students, to benefit from an engaged intellectual exchange about these critical differences.

The second basic dimension of learning (horizontal in the diagram) has to do with how knowledge is processed, with the tension between intellectual reflection and active practice. The broader approach to scholarly work advocated here challenges the idea, imported from Germany at the founding of the American research university, that theory and practice stand in a hierarchical relationship, with theory having precedence over practice. For the new American scholar, however, theoretical reflection and practice are mutually reinforcing, each enriching the other. The work of the scholar moves continually back and forth along this continuum. William Butler Yeats catches the spirit of this view when he says:

The human soul is always moving outward into the external world and inward into itself, and this movement is double because the human soul would not be conscious were it not suspended between contraries. The greater the contrast, the more intense the consciousness (in Kolb 1984, p. 52).

As noted earlier, in American higher education today, there is a disturbing gap between what is valued as scholarship and the pragmatic needs of the larger community. This ironic development in the American university has multiple roots, but one important strand can be traced back to the

emergence of professional education and, specifically, to the impact of another Carnegie study, the Flexner report on medical education, published in 1910. The major effect of the Flexner report was to move medical education into the research university and greatly increase its scientific component.

The other professions followed medicine's lead. Practical competence became professional when grounded in systematic -- preferably scientific -- knowledge. The application of knowledge took on value -- rigor and prestige -- when derived from original research. In the most pragmatic society in the world, with its university mission statements brimming with references to practicality and service to the nation, scholarship was conceptualized as independent of, and prior to, practice.

Today, this hierarchical conception of scholarship that makes the application of knowledge derivative, and consequently second best, is being broadly challenged. Donald Schön's work on "the reflective practitioner" calls for a reassessment of the relationship between scholarship and practice. Lee Shulman has argued persuasively for honoring "the wisdom of practice." Professional schools, especially in medicine, have begun to realign the relationship between basic research and practice. This is reflected in the sequencing of curricula, changes in assumptions about teaching and learning, and even the career options being opened to medical school faculty.

In undergraduate programs across the country, community service is being integrated into academic curricula, enabling institutions to get students and faculty involved in fulfilling two of their fundamental missions -- addressing important problems in the larger community and introducing faculty and students to an enticing and effective learning strategy. What makes the community experience valuable is not the experience, as such, but the serious intellectual reflection upon the experience. Again, the relationship between scholarly work and practical engagement is beginning to be viewed in a new light.

Not only are the epistemological assumptions undergirding the narrower view of scholarship being effectively challenged on a variety of fronts, but a broader conception of what can be legitimately honored as scholarly work is beginning to take hold. The question now is: Can we make a place for the new American scholar? In addition to the work being done through AAHE's Forum on Faculty Roles & Rewards, there are specific organizational initiatives that move in this direction.

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Creating a Place

A major strength of American higher education is its institutional diversity. We have succeeded in establishing a rich mosaic of colleges and universities addressing a wide range of educational needs. The new American scholar is not envisioned as appropriate for one kind of institution or primarily for one sector. Under the received definition, the "real" scholars cluster in one sector and set for all the patterns for research, pedagogy, and the way one pursues a career. The intent of this newer alternative vision is that all faculty see themselves as scholars engaged in challenging intellectual tasks and doing so with dignity.

To provide organizational models where a broader, more integrated view of scholarly work can take hold, college and university leaders of distinctive types of institutions have been convening groups for this very purpose. The two receiving the most national attention are both in what Carnegie classifies as comprehensive institutions, the sector most confused about matching faculty priorities with multiple-purpose missions. In both clusters of institutions -- one private, and one public -- the incorporation of an enlarged vision of scholarly work is being combined with an effort to get greater clarity on the complex missions of their distinctive institutional types, and to take seriously the need to restructure the institutions in light of increasing financial constraints, changing populations, and new technological capabilities.

The New American College. Following Ernest Boyer's initiative, the leaders of a group of private colleges and universities met to construct an educational model that would be distinct from the two dominant ones long used to define status and quality in American higher education: the pure liberal arts college, on the one hand, and the research university, on the other. The new model would place a high priority on an integrated academic culture and connected learning, while also valuing applied learning and the usefulness of knowledge in addressing the issues and problems confronting the larger society. Universities and colleges such as the University of Richmond, the University of Redlands, and Ithaca College aspire to reconnect liberal education with professional education, academic disciplines with a larger landscape of learning, and the academy with the needs of society. They also intend to become "an educational laboratory" to evaluate the effectiveness of the ideas they are generating.

Metropolitan Universities. The metropolitan universities form a more diffuse group of large public institutions for whom the national conversation about faculty roles and rewards has been particularly important. These are the institutions that for some time have served "the new majority" of students in and around the nation's cities, and take as a central part of their mission responsibility for responding to community needs and demands for applied research and public service. Represented

here are the University of Arkansas-Little Rock, George Mason University, and Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis. While relying heavily on faculty teaching and service, they found themselves, like other universities, using an excessively narrow conception of scholarship to define, assess, and reward faculty contributions.

Scholarship Reconsidered was a catalyst that unleashed a serious endeavor to develop new models for evaluating and rewarding faculty work, models more appropriate to the complex missions of metropolitan universities. Through their journal and annual conferences, these universities are providing an ongoing national arena where new ideas and concrete policy options can be generated and shared.

The recognition and rewarding of professional service as scholarly work is proving to be particularly problematic, despite gallant efforts. The editor of the journal *Metropolitan Universities*, Ernest Lynton, has made a critical contribution here with his Forum monograph *Making the Case for Professional Service* (AAHE, 1995). And Michigan State recently sponsored a symposium attracting teams from more than sixty major land-grant universities to disseminate the results of a \$10-million Kellogg grant. The symposium was entitled "Fulfilling Higher Education's Covenant With Society: The Emerging Outreach Agenda."

Preparing Future Faculty. The most effective work being done in research universities to cultivate a broader conception of the scholarly work of the professoriate is the national initiative jointly sponsored by the Association of American Colleges & Universities and the Council of Graduate Schools. The purpose of their Preparing Future Faculty project is to develop model programs to better prepare graduate students interested in an academic career. There is no better place to begin than reforming the graduate education of future faculty.

PART II

RETHINKING FACULTY CAREERS

Just as the established view of scholarship is rooted in a particular epistemology, it also assumes a particular kind of faculty career -- both narrow and limited. The prevailing conception of what constitutes a valued academic career begins with a Ph.D. (based primarily on research in a discipline) and leads to a tenure-track appointment, achieving tenure in a prescribed time, and advancing on a

short, three-rung ladder from assistant to associate to full professor, all turning in large part on one's research performance. Many faculty take other paths, and there are wide variations, but this is the legitimate and honored career pattern. It is a career path growing out of a set of priorities cultivated in a different time -- the assumptive world of the academic professional referred to earlier.

Faculty priorities as we have known them are now being challenged and, in many colleges and universities, substantially changed. The contexts in which faculty work -- the financial constraints, the technological environment, the basic assumptions about work itself -- are being transformed. But we are only now beginning to rethink the ways in which faculty careers are arranged. Many accommodations are being patched together to permit individual faculty and institutions to make it through this turbulent time. We have not, however, addressed the serious organizational implications of these changes for the patterning of faculty careers.

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In this effort to reexamine faculty careers, I want us to consider more than the way in which the career is sequenced and the policy implications, more than tenure and its alternatives, as important as these are. Instead, the tenure issues need to be placed within a larger context that relates to the kinds of working lives people who choose academic careers are able to live. I want us to think about careers that, in the future, will attract the best of a new generation into the profession. We need careers that will be more resilient and self-renewing for individual faculty, but ones that are also aligned with the central missions of our colleges and universities, enabling our institutions to lead in a society where the priorities and needs are changing in an environment of growing constraints.

Changes in the Academic Workplace

As we move into a new century, we are already grappling with the front edges of difficult, but challenging changes in the academic workplace. An enlarged vision of the scholarly work of faculty promises to ease the difficulty of negotiating this critical transition period by opening the way for a richer variety of choices for individual faculty and providing appropriate and adaptive options for institutions. Taking full advantage of this multidimensional approach to scholarly work will require, however, significant changes in the way in which we organize and support the careers of faculty.

The major shifts in the future of the academic workplace impinging directly on our assumptions about faculty careers are these:

FROM	TO
• maintaining a primary focus on faculty — who we are and what we know	• a primary focus on learning
• an emphasis on the professional autonomy of faculty	• increased faculty involvement in academic institution-building
• highly individualistic ways of working ("my work")	• greater collaboration ("our work")
• career dependence	• career resilience
• a perception of colleges and universities as worlds set apart	• greater faculty responsibility for public life and the quality of democratic participation

Toward a Complete Scholar

Faculty in the early stages of their careers and the graduate students interviewed in our "Heeding New Voices" inquiry express a longing for academic careers that, over the years, would lead to a more complete sense of what it meant to be a scholar. Young faculty who love their specializations and enjoy research regretted that what counted as serious scholarship was too narrowly circumscribed. One faculty member complained that if her writing "was accessible to a broader public, it was devalued." Another in the social sciences lamented that if his scholarly work "was too applied" it would be regarded as of questionable quality.

In the report from the distinguished Presidential Young Investigator Colloquium on "America's Academic Future," new faculty in the sciences, engineering, and mathematics set forth as their first principal: "Encourage and reward teaching excellence, instructional scholarship, and public service as well as research." And, they concluded: "In short, there is a strong need to promote a higher quality of faculty life that more fully recognizes and develops the diverse talents and interests of all the faculty"

(1992, p. 2).

This is what is envisioned for the new American scholar, that over a lifetime one could, in fact, become a complete scholar. This would involve the cultivation of a multidimensional sense of the professional self. It would mean becoming a scholar capable of not only honoring different ways of knowing but, at different times in one's career, investing in the cultivation of the scholarly strengths of not only advancing but applying, integrating, and transforming knowledge.

The complete scholar would have a sense of the way in which different forms of scholarly work interrelate and enrich one another, and would be capable of moving with ease from one scholarly task to another. The tensions between connected knowing and analytical capabilities, on the one hand, and reflection and active practice, on the other, would be nurtured and built upon rather than resisted and minimized.

Faculty moving toward becoming complete scholars would have a sense of the whole, with a wide variety of choices and options across the life span of a career, and the capability of responding to shifting institutional and societal needs. The way in which teaching and research are interdependent and complement each other would be clear, as would the interaction between theory-building and active practice.

Universities and colleges trying to build the central thesis of *Scholarship Reconsidered* into their tenure and promotion policies and procedures have generated at least two serious misunderstandings. Some recommend that faculty be required to demonstrate excellence in all four forms of scholarship, leading either to justifying only mediocre to passable work across-the-board, or to setting standards so high in all four areas that,

as one junior faculty member put it: "It turned out to be a prescription for humiliation, setting junior faculty up for failure." The second misunderstanding has led to the development of separate faculty tracks, e.g., one in research, another in teaching, and a third in service. Faculty would choose and then stay with their choices throughout their careers.

The notion of the complete scholar becomes a career objective that unfolds over a lifetime of scholarly work. Faculty would have the opportunity to grow and change over time, being basically competent in, and committed to, a broader conception of scholarly work. They would agree for a set period of time to concentrate on one aspect of scholarly work where there is a special passion, be

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evaluated on the basis of that agreement, but then, if personal interests and institutional needs shift, move to concentrating on another facet of one's scholarly capabilities. Over the seasons of the academic life, a faculty member could become a complete scholar in the fullest sense.

The Connected Scholar

Recently, Jane Tompkins, an English professor at Duke, wrote a moving reflection on her life as a faculty member. She spoke eloquently about the isolation felt by so many of her colleagues, and then asked, "What do we want from work?" Her list: "a sense of contribution; a common enterprise; belonging; good feeling in the workplace; a community of hope; an integrated life" (1992, p. 18). Tompkins's list is not very different from the responses we received in the new faculty and graduate student interviews. An advanced graduate student in a major New York university, when asked about the lives of the junior faculty, said: "I don't want the loneliness I see among most. They are largely cut off from their colleagues by the competition for advancement and are reluctant to discuss difficulties they are having, particularly in relation to teaching, for fear of exposing weaknesses." A number of junior faculty talked about feeling very much junior and not a part of "the community of scholars" they thought they were joining.

A more connected scholar would be cognizant not only of the rights of a professor but of the responsibilities, as well. As important as professional autonomy is in protecting the freedom of faculty to challenge conventional ideas and generate teaching and research grounded in their own passion for learning and fertile curiosity, the priority placed on autonomy has led to disconnection, and, in some cases, irresponsibility. From our interviews we found new faculty being consistently warned against becoming too deeply involved in institutional agendas, such as developing new curricula, innovative uses of technology in the classroom, school/college collaborations, or community-based learning projects. The kinds of scholarly work that would provide interactive connection with students, the larger community, and the central mission of one's institution were too often discouraged. In most cases, it was the vagaries of the tenure process that stood in the way.

New faculty also reported being cut off from their senior colleagues. Beginning faculty who had received scant preparation for teaching in graduate school were offered even less guidance from older faculty in their first appointment. The most consistent complaint about the first-year experience was a lack of mentoring. The "sink or swim" analogy appears regularly in the interviews. A much neglected responsibility of senior faculty is the care and nurturing of new colleagues. Should this be one of the

responsibilities of tenure? Should it be built into the evaluation for senior faculty?

Finally, the academic career, as it is currently arranged, fosters a disconnection from the larger society -- its problems and opportunities -- and even from the self. Most exhilarating about interviewing new faculty and graduate students is getting in touch with their sense of vocation, their wanting to make a difference in society through their work. One spoke of wanting "to have an impact." Another, a woman faculty member, was drawn to the challenge of being a "professional role model for younger women." Several Latino faculty members talked about wanting to give back to their communities. Yet, in the way we have structured the faculty career and the reward system, faculty are discouraged from reaching out and making those connections.

A faculty member at the newest state university in California talked about her aspiration to be able to do at the new Monterey Bay campus what she had not been able to accomplish elsewhere, "to be true to my connected self." Another, in the same discussion, spoke of her desire to be able, in her work, to "lead with the heart" and described the difficulties of doing this in other university settings.

Of special concern across the interviews was the fear of "having to forgo a personal life." Junior faculty are insisting on a more balanced life, but are finding it enormously difficult, given the faculty career as it is currently structured. Of all the changing conditions having an impact on the academic career, none is more profound than the proliferation of the dual-career family. The prevailing conception of an academic career was established by and for faculty (largely male) who had the support of a spouse and functioned in a much less competitive market. One first-year faculty member noted that "the profession is dominated by the myth that being a professor is the only role I have." Women faculty, particularly, spoke of having to hide other roles and responsibilities. Minority faculty joined them in speaking of multiple identities they would like to affirm, but finding it necessary to hide central facets of themselves.

The relationship between the personal and the professional needs to be seriously studied and addressed if we hope to attract and hold a strong and diverse faculty. The rigidity of the timing of the tenure process -- tenure clock issues -- needs immediate attention. Developing a career in which having children is an option is a critical concern not only for women but for men, as well. Today, faculty get trapped by the contradiction built into the academic career. They are drawn by the autonomy and flexibility they assume the career affords, but find that in the early years -- the child-bearing years, at least -- the time required to maintain a balanced life is not available.

Interactive Approaches to Learning

The reconsideration of scholarship and significant changes in our approaches to student learning have developed in parallel, with both rooted in broader assumptions about how we know. For faculty to become more open -- as we claim the new American scholar would be -- to connected knowing and to what can be learned from experience, and to begin to move beyond the narrow conception of scholarship that has dominated our scholarly work for so many years, we must rethink our approach to teaching and learning. The two go hand in hand.

Three major pedagogical developments that are having a powerful impact on faculty work have advanced or reemerged recently. Each has developed more or less independently and is changing the way we think about teaching. Taken together, and building on the strengths of each, the three promise to transform faculty participation in the learning process. They are (1) collaborative learning, (2) experience-based learning, and, most important, (3) instructional application of information technologies. The separation of the intellectual content of a field from teaching as process or procedure has plagued those interested in improving undergraduate teaching for generations. Teaching has been viewed as technique separated from the intellectual substance of a discipline. It has been relegated to the purview of schools of education and devalued. Faculty who allowed the usually implicit epistemological assumptions undergirding the established notion of scholarship to shape their approaches to teaching found it very hard to acknowledge the intellectual value of small-group discussions, cohort teams proceeding through a curriculum together, or the academic contributions of a co-op, internship, or community-service experience. More recently, faculty with such assumptions often have been reluctant to take full advantage of the new information technologies that open the way for students to get involved in the cocreation of knowledge.

What is striking about the interactive approaches to learning, and particularly the new information technologies, is that the intellectual content of the field and the process have become inextricably intertwined. Whether through the capacity to access and manipulate data, or the enhanced ability to communicate and collaborate with others, knowledge in the disciplines themselves is being

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reconfigured and students are being drawn into this intellectually rich and challenging interactive process.

The thoughtfully structured lecture and the relationships with professors deeply steeped in the knowledge of a field and capable of extending its boundaries will always have honored places in the pedagogical repertoire of our colleges and universities, but we are on the verge of a "sea change" in the instructional role of faculty. In their recommendations, the science-based Presidential Young Investigators called for the development of "discovery-oriented environments that capitalize on the full power of new communication, information, and visualization technologies," and they were pointed in their critique of the "ubiquitous lecture" (1992, p. 13). We have yet to develop an adequate designation for this new role: facilitator, guide, architect, none quite fit. And, it is a role that is public and shared with librarians, technicians, practitioners, graduate assistants, and peer mentors who are no longer supplemental and supportive, but are colleagues in a new sense. The implications of this major shift for faculty careers are only beginning to be touched upon.

Being Part of a Collaborative Organization

As the new faculty and graduate students we interviewed reflected on their futures in the academy, they expressed serious interest in being a part of an organization where collaboration is valued. This was triggered in part by priorities in the workplace developing outside higher education. Several had chosen to pursue academic careers after being previously employed in the corporate sector, where the ability to work collaboratively was not only valued but assessed and rewarded. They spoke about working as teams in situations where contributions to common goals created working environments they found both productive and energizing. Unfortunately, this kind of collaboration was dramatically absent from their experience in the university.

The commitments to autonomy and competition are so entrenched in the cultures of the academic departments of some of the new faculty that, as they thought about their futures, they wanted to see the rewarding of collaborative endeavors built into departmental incentive systems, including the budgetary process. They also suggested leadership seminars for new department chairs and an ongoing faculty development process that, over time, might create a more collaborative culture in departments.

Nowhere in the socialization of future faculty does the relationship between professional autonomy and the capacity and need to work together toward common goals ever get explored, with

possible exception in the sciences. In fact, when graduate students were asked about what attracted them to an academic career, autonomy was a driving priority. An expectation has been created about "setting your own hours" and "creating your own classes." One new faculty member responded to the question by saying that an academic career gives a person "the chance to be self-employed without putting up one's own capital." Another said "we have autonomy from people who perceive themselves as our bosses."

Professional autonomy understood in these terms is difficult to defend. In other organizational careers these days, the *quid pro quo* for autonomy is accountability. As legislators and trustees look at the faculty career, this is what the best of them -- the friends of higher education -- are pressing for.

Certainly the freedom to pursue ideas, to raise inconvenient questions, to create an agenda of inquiry that builds on one's imagination and curiosity must be maintained as essential to the work of the professoriate, and these were identified by the new faculty as important. But it is clear from the interviews that the notion of professional autonomy has been pressed too far and misappropriated. For some faculty it has become, to use Philip Slater's phrase, "the pursuit of loneliness." Collaboration and professional autonomy are not necessarily incompatible; each can benefit from the other. But developing a collaborative organization will require reexamining the relationship between autonomy and responsibility in the faculty career.

Despite the faculty press over the years for participation in "shared governance," often initiated by the American Association of University Professors, the gulf between faculty and administrators widens, as professional administrators take more responsibility for academic institution-building and faculty struggle to find time for what they, as individuals, refer to as "my work." The new faculty interviewed talked about the "social class gap" they observed between faculty and administrators and commented about the growing disparity in salaries and the resulting lifestyle differences. More important, however, is the adversarial relationship that has developed between the two.

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The complex problems we are going to face in the future require not only collaboration between faculty and administrators but that the walls separating faculty, administration, and staff become increasingly permeable, with faculty moving with ease from one position to another depending on the task. Faculty will have to think about their academic careers in very different ways.

Two other fissures in the academic workplace stand in the way of open collaboration. Particularly severe is the dual labor market that has developed in the majority of our colleges and universities: one group of faculty, the full-timers, with careers to look forward to, usually with tenure-track appointments, a manageable salary, and reasonable benefits; and the other, the part-timers, having academic jobs but not careers. An interview with a group of adjunct faculty at a community college, where 75% of the instruction is delivered by part-time faculty, demonstrates the problem. The primary work of the institution is being conducted by faculty who not only are marginalized but report the lack of respect they experience. Some do not even receive notices of departmental meetings. It is difficult to establish a collaborative environment where this is the case. Judith Gappa and David Leslie, authors of *The Invisible Faculty* (1993), are exploring in another New Pathways Inquiry the implications of this dual labor market phenomenon for the future of the academic career.

The final fissure undermining the capacity to collaborate is the growing strain that exists between the generations of faculty. Junior faculty are being held to tenure and promotion standards that many of the senior faculty cannot meet. Collaboration under these conditions is difficult. Particularly galling to new faculty, who are being evaluated at every turn, is that their tenured colleagues are exempt from continuous review. Junior faculty interviewed made a strong argument for post-tenure review.

Knowledge Without Boundaries: Career Implications

Mary Walshok has written an intriguing book, entitled *Knowledge Without Boundaries* (1995), in which she explores the changing role of knowledge in society. The challenge to higher education that she sees is not just coping with the explosion of knowledge and the heavy reliance on it in a knowledge-based society; it is the "democratization of knowledge work" (p. 7). What was once the exclusive purview of highly educated professors working in universities and specialized laboratories has become the responsibility of well-trained experts working in a wide array of social institutions. Knowledge is breaching preconceived boundaries established both within our colleges and universities and beyond. And, if we really attend to the legitimacy of different approaches of knowing, the

boundaries of our linear academic careers are going to have to change.

Crossing Knowledge Domains

Most of us are convinced by now that the disciplinary boundaries that shape our academic disciplines and structure participation in the critical decisions about faculty promotions and tenure are far too limiting. How often have we heard reference to Clifford Geertz's influential essay "Blurred Genres," where he traces what he sees as:

... a phenomenon general enough and distinctive enough to suggest that what we are seeing is not just another redrawing of the cultural map -- the moving of a few disputed borders, the marking of some more picturesque mountain lakes -- but an alteration of the principles of mapping. Something is happening to the way we think about the way we think (1980, pp. 165-166).

Intellectually we recognize the blurring of disciplinary boundaries and that special arrangements are regularly made to pursue scholarly work that bridge the disciplines. But, we have not been very successful at structuring dependable career paths that are interdisciplinary, are multidisciplinary, or that seriously challenge the disciplinary divisions in other ways. Junior faculty are particularly sensitive to this because they know where the key decisions about their careers are going to be made. One junior faculty member lamented the absence of "sustainable jobs between the disciplines." Another had little confidence that the good interdisciplinary work he had done would have any currency when decisions about his career were made.

It is important that we structure academic careers and their rewards in ways that permit faculty to move more easily across disciplines and work collaboratively with colleagues in other fields because most of the pressing questions that need addressing do not fit nicely in single disciplines. As Robert Kates, a Brown University professor, pointed out in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*:

Whether they are questions of origin; of particles, life, society, or the cosmos; questions of meaning; of existence, being human, kinship, or symbol; or questions of matter and energy; of atom, cell, family, or nation -- we quickly run up against the boundaries of our disciplinary structures. And if we ask why people kill others, why hunger persists in a world of plenty, or why great gaps separate rich and poor, black and white, male and female -- we quickly find how limited are our disciplinary perspectives (May 17, 1989, p. B2).

Kates was providing an eloquent defense of the faculty-initiated institutes and centers that spring up in most major universities. The problem is that faculty careers are not anchored in those institutes, where the important questions are being asked.

Moving In and Out of the Academy

As we have seen, the new American scholar is open to multiple sources of knowledge and is particularly committed to making connection with and having an impact on the larger society. Building on lived experience and learning from the wisdom of practice are seen not only as legitimate elements in scholarly work but as essential.

Academic careers as they are currently structured are based on the assumption that faculty will, by-and-large, spend their entire professional lives in academic settings. They also assume that experience is separate from knowledge, just as reflection is dissociated from action, theory from practice, and thinking from doing. A broader conception of scholarly work challenges all of this. Faculty might want to spend extended periods of time in other work settings, learning from experience

and making a professional contribution of a different sort, then move back into an academic appointment, enriched by the alternation between practice and reflection. Most of our faculty personnel policies make such movement virtually impossible. Junior faculty in mathematics we interviewed talked about their interest in spending periods of their careers in industry, business, and government settings, where they could learn from the process of applying their work.

Practitioner faculty -- those whose primary professions are outside the academy -- offer a rich wealth of knowledge to be shared with students and full-time faculty colleagues. They are already employed by most colleges and universities, but they function under the shadow of questionable legitimacy and work only on the margins of our institutions. An important kind of

knowing is implicit in professional practice that we have yet to fully acknowledge. In the act of developing a medical diagnosis, working with a client in psychotherapy, or creating an architectural design, a special kind of knowing develops in the act itself. Michael Polanyi speaks of this as "tacit knowing." Knowledge is generated from the practice itself. It builds on disciplined inquiry -- research and the construction of theory -- but a qualitatively different kind of knowledge is generated out of the struggle with the uncertainty, uniqueness, conflict, and even the "messiness" of practice. The connections to the larger society we want our faculty, students, and institutions to make require an openness to, and a cultivation of, knowledge anchored in practice. How do we provide for this in the way we structure academic careers?

IN OUR
STRUCTURED
INTERVIEWS
WITH
NEW FACULTY,
THE KEY
TENURE ISSUE
IS THE
ABSTRAUSNESS
OF THE
PROCESS

Tenure

The Tenure Process

In setting forth "a vision of the year 2010 and beyond," the Presidential Young Investigators identified the tenure, promotion, and reward system as "our greatest barrier to a better future" (*America's Academic Future* 1992). Much of their concern is being addressed in the tenure and promotion guidelines being revised in fundamental ways in colleges and universities across the country. AAHE's Forum on Faculty Roles & Rewards has assembled, with the assistance of the Carnegie Foundation, more than 175 campus documents aimed at broadening the dominant conception of scholarly work and delineating what is to be rewarded.

Two problems now confront pretenured faculty, however. The first is: Have we been able to move from what Argyris and Schön call "espoused theory" to "theory-in-practice"? Our formal statements are beginning to align faculty priorities and basic institutional purposes, but have we moved beyond espousal to concrete practice? The second problem is that in tenure decisions, particularly where appointments are perceived to be made for life, it is the disciplinary agendas, the old "assumptive world of the academic professional," and not the new institutionally aligned guidelines that surface as dominant. Again, junior faculty are caught between the times.

In our structured interviews with new faculty, the key tenure issue is the abstruseness of the process. Junior faculty, again and again, express their frustration: "Everything is so vague, ambiguous, and illusive;" "There is no steady, reliable feedback." "I cannot get a good read on what it takes to get tenure." The perception exists that expectations are constantly changing. One new faculty member made a cynical reference to the tenure process as "archery in the dark."

So central is this concern that I doubt it can be written off as the normal anxiety of adult professionals being evaluated in their work. The process itself is seriously flawed, and because it is such a high-stakes decision for both the institution and the individual it is essential that the process be restructured.

Much of the problem is grounded in the dominance of other commitments: for instance, the

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high value placed on a frequently rotating chair; the lack of effective new-faculty orientations, and the absence of continuous discussion in departments of the tenure process and the values that inform it; and, most of all, the regular turnover in the membership of the tenure and promotion committees. The sharing of decision making among the tenured comes at a very high price for faculty on probationary status.

Tenure and Alternative Employment Arrangements

Junior faculty are very ambivalent about tenure. For some, "Tenure is a very powerful incentive to stay in academia." For others, tenure, in the present employment climate is so "stressful and political" that it is discouraging able colleagues from pursuing an academic career. For junior faculty members, tenure has become a monumental watershed in their lives; as one faculty member put it, "tenure is a single goal, rather than one of several milestones along the career path."

There were junior faculty in our interviews who would very much welcome alternative employment arrangements. Several, in fact, were in major universities and already on various kinds of limited-term contracts. One observed, "I would have much less freedom on a tenure track." He also felt that if he were on a tenure track, he would not be able to dedicate as much time to students and to teaching, which is the reason he entered the profession in the first place.

When we look outside the academy, to the general public or to those who have a special interest in higher education -- legislators and boards of regents -- tenure is seen as particularly problematic, even a source of resentment. The workplace in the larger society is in the midst of a dramatic change, with major corporations such as IBM and even "Ma Bell," downsizing with a vengeance. In this context, tenure has become a legislative target and exaggerates the disconnection of faculty from the broader community. The professoriate has not effectively articulated the social meaning of tenure -- the protection of the university as a place where inconvenient questions can be asked, and not as job protection for a specially sheltered status group.

Hedrick Smith, in his new book *Rethinking America*, writes about the "downside of downsizing" and joins labor secretary Robert Reich in identifying the new "anxious class" in America -- "millions of Americans who can no longer count on having their jobs next year, or next month" (1995, p. 412). He also talks about trust and security as essential for collaboration and high performance in organizations. Any open discussion of tenure is going to have to keep this in mind.

Emerging from the early dialogue on tenure initiated by AAHE's New Pathways Project is a focus on tenure as a responsibility, not just an individual right. For instance, academic freedom -- that

is, freedom of expression and inquiry -- would be assumed to be the right of all faculty, including the newly appointed and adjuncts. With tenure would come the responsibility for cultivating a collective climate that would ensure that freedom of expression and inquiry would be maintained throughout the institution.

The rethinking of tenure is raising the possibility that tenure be tied to institutional mission -- that tenure be local. This would go a long way toward overcoming the discrepancy between faculty priorities, which are usually more cosmopolitan and oriented to the discipline, and the responsibilities of the institution for student learning and for addressing the educational needs of the larger community. If this notion of tenure was then supported by periodic performance review and effective means of accountability, tenure not only would be easier to articulate and defend but would contribute to the long-term viability of the institution.

As a part of the Forum's New Pathways project, Richard Chait is working with a team of colleagues on tenure and alternative arrangements. The hypothesis is that the single, simple distinction between tenure-track and nontenure-track appointments, and the terms and conditions of employment under each of these tracks, constrains both individuals and institutions from realizing their full potential.

Post-Tenure Review

Post-tenure review is being mandated at many institutions and several statewide systems. The reviews to date are mixed: Some see it as the best defense of tenure; others regard it as more cosmetic than real and a source of the proliferation of unnecessary paperwork. Continuous review of tenured faculty, however, could be a constructive way of maintaining the vitality of senior professors in a rapidly changing environment. It could be a time for feedback and recognition from colleagues in a profession that is all too private. To make the process effective, resources will be needed to update skills and enhance the faculty member's capacity to adapt to new challenges in the disciplines, connected fields, and responsibilities in external settings. Five-year review periods could be times to shift to new scholarly tasks to continue

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to grow and change and become a more complete, connected scholar.

Continuous review of senior faculty has the potential for supporting resilient careers and the adaptability of faculty for what should be the capstone of their professional lives. Also, in the absence of a retirement cap for the professoriate, a fair evaluation process at regular intervals could better inform the decision about retirement and retirement planning. Christine Licata, of the Rochester Institute of Technology, is working with colleagues in the New Pathways project on the post-tenure review process.

CONCLUSION

After working on the idea of the "new American scholar" for some time, I ran into Frank Wong at an AAHE meeting shortly before his untimely death. In our conversation I described doubts I was beginning to have about focusing on what was uniquely American about the work of the scholar. Frank, in addition to being academic vice president at the University of Redlands, was at the time chairing a national panel on diversity for the Association of American Colleges & Universities. I was concerned that the idea might be misunderstood as a kind of nationalistic ethnocentrism, another triumphalist gesture, which wasn't at all the intent. I was surprised at the intensity of Frank's response.

In America, he contended, there has evolved a very special vision of the role of higher education in society. The nation has invested in a richly diverse, decentralized mosaic of institutions, meeting a wide range of educational needs, appropriate for a multicultural democratic nation. He then went on to argue that while we have the vision and a rich mix of institutions to support it, we have yet to match that powerful vision with a fitting conception of the role of the scholar. To speak of the new American scholar was, to his mind, not only appropriate but what was missing.

The reconsideration of scholarship is now being widely debated throughout American higher education. Efforts to broaden what is understood as the scholarly work of faculty are built into new tenure and promotion guidelines; and innovative ways of assessing the scholarly role of faculty in teaching and learning, as well as professional service, are gaining ground.

The epistemological assumptions supporting the narrower, established view of scholarship are being seriously challenged. The case is being made for a new openness to connected ways of knowing, and the diversity of communities that now are finding their voices, are growing in number, and pressing for full inclusion in the society and, particularly, in the intellectual life of colleges and universities. The necessity for scholars -- both faculty and students -- to learn from experience and be more fully

connected to the larger society is becoming increasingly clear. All of this moves us toward making a place for the new American scholar. What is now missing is the restructuring of faculty careers -- our next agenda. ■

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